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THE KING'S GIFT TO
CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON

1733

BY
PERCIVAL MERRITT



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THE KING'S GIFT TO CHRIST CHURCH, BOSTON, 1733

Christ Church and King's Chapel were so intimately connected during the fifty years which preceded the Revolution that it is almost impossible to consider any important event in the life of the former without coming in contact with the life of the latter. The committee, which was appointed in 1722 to secure subscriptions for the new church at the North End of Boston, was chosen for that purpose at a meeting of the congregation of King's Chapel summoned by its Rector, the Rev. Samuel Myles.¹ When the Rev. Timothy Cutler sailed for London in the autumn of 1722 to take Holy Orders, he was accompanied by a letter from the Rector, Wardens, and Vestry of King's Chapel recommending him to the Bishop of London for ordination, and urging that the Bishop should grant him his "License for the Church now to be built in this place."² The corner-stone of Christ Church was laid in April, 1723, by the Rev. Mr. Myles "accompany'd with the gentlemen of King's Chapel."³ Dr. Cutler preached his first sermon, after his return to Boston in September, 1723, in King's Chapel.⁴ On more than one occasion, when the interests or dignity of the Anglican Church in Massachusetts were involved, the vestrys of the two churches met together and took action in joint session. During the long illness of Dr. Cutler, prior to his death in 1765, the officers of Christ Church turned to Dr. Caner of King's Chapel for assistance and advice, and on August 20th, 1765, Dr. Caner preached the sermon at the funeral of Dr. Cutler.

These are but a few instances of the inter-relation of the two churches which might be multiplied almost indefinitely. It is not surprising therefore, — soon after the arrival in Boston in 1730 of Jonathan Belcher returning duly commissioned as Governor of the Province, and bringing to King's Chapel an evidence of the Royal bounty in the form of Bible and Prayer-Books, Communion plate

¹ Account Book (1722-1759) of Christ Church.

² Christ Church files; from copy of original letter.

³ Account Book.

⁴ Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, i. 323.

and furnishings for the Altar, — to find the following entry in the Vestry Records of Christ Church: ¹

At a Vestry Meeting the 18th of Nov^r 1730:

		Present,		
		The Rev ^d Doc ^r T. Cutler		
M ^r Geo. Monk	}	Church Wardens		
M ^r W ^m Patten				
M ^r H. Laughton	}	Vestrymen	{	
M ^r Geo. Skinner				M ^r Jn ^o Howard
Cap ^t R. Harris				M ^r E. Stanbridge
M ^r Th. Carrington				M ^r W ^m Price

In consideration of late Donation of his present Majesty our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Second to his Maj^{ty}'s Chappel in this Town at the desire of his Excellency Jon^a Belcher Esq^r our Govern^r and under the Promising Views of obtaining the like Benevolence from our said Sovereign by the good Interest and Encouragement of our Govern^r afores^d Voted That the Minister, Church Wardens and Vestry do Concur with his Excell^y Jon^a Belcher Esq^r in a due Application for getting plate and other Utencills for y^e Altar of Christ Church and for a Bible, prayer book &c. for the Use of the Said Church like as his Majesty's Chappell in this Town has lately been given by the Interest of the said Govern^r. Voted That the Church Wardens for the Time being, Shall pay out of the Church Stock all the Expences of getting the S^d Utencills out of the proper Offices in Great Britain amounting to about Seventeen Pounds sterling. Voted That a letter be Sent by the Said Minister Church Wardens and Vestry To Edmund Lord Bishop of London to that End.

The estimate of £17 for expenses was probably based on the charges incurred by King's Chapel of £16.7.0 for various amounts disbursed in London by Governor Belcher in 1730 on account of the Royal gift. The records of King's Chapel, however, show an additional payment to Belcher in 1731 of £57.4.6 "for his charges in Procuring and bringing plate, &c." ² It is not absolutely clear from the records as printed whether the supplementary payment in 1731 was in sterling, or in local currency, but if the former Christ Church apparently fared better in the matter of expenses, as will be seen later.

¹ All extracts from the Vestry Records are from the first Record Book, 1724-1802.

² Annals of King's Chapel, i. 400.

The Governor evidently bestirred himself actively in the interests of Christ Church for, under date of July 24, 1731, he wrote the Bishop of London:¹ "I am very thankful to your Lordship for what M^r Newman writes of the good offices your Lordship has been pleased to employ in favor of Christ's Church in this Town, of which I have acquainted Doct^r Cutler and the Vestry, and that from your Lordship's Goodness & parental Care, they may hope for his Majesty's Bounty to that Infant Church."²

After the receipt of Mr. Newman's³ advices, however, a question evidently arose in London as to the advisability of complying with the request of the Church and Governor which was reflected in the following action taken by the Vestry of Christ Church: "At a Vestry Meeting the 23'd of Novem^r 1731, . . . Voted That two letters be forwarded to London p Cap^t Sheperdson, The one to his Grace the Duke of Grafton & the other to his Lordsp. the Bishop of London, Copys of the Said letters being lodg'd in M^r Willm. Pattens hands." The reason for this action and the Governor's personal interest in the matter is shown by several letters among the Belcher Papers.

On November 20, 1731, Belcher wrote Henry Newman: "I am very thankfull for your care to procure the King's bounty for Christ's Church, & observe what my good Lord of London wrote you in the matter, which I hope he has before this time confirmed to my Lord Chamberlain. *Ore tenus*, you must not despair, but sollicit diligently till you obtain."⁴ On December 1, 1731, he wrote himself to the Lord Chamberlain, the Duke of Grafton:

I had the great honour of addressing your Grace in Dec^r last, and (among other things) to mention to y^r Grace the request of the Minister & Vestry of Christ's C^{hh} in this town for his Majesty's bounty of plate & furniture to that infant c^{hh}, and for which they now presume to make their humble petition to your Grace, and I so fully represented to your Grace in my last the strait circumstances of that c^{hh} that I am afraid to give your Grace a new trouble on that head. But as the King's

¹ Edmund Gibson.

² W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, iii. 270.

³ Henry Newman, H. C. 1687, Librarian 1690-1693: see our Publications, xiv. 135-136.

⁴ Belcher Papers, i. 59.

Chappel in this town twice reëd the royal bounty, I beg leave to assure your Grace that your kind regards to this c^{hh} in a favourable representation of their poor condition to his Majesty, and that they might enjoy the royal smiles in this respect wou'd be an instance of your Grace's great goodness & favour to this C^{hh} of England in gen^l in this country, & oblige them always to pray for the best of blessings to be poured down upon your Grace and every branch of your noble family.¹

On the same day Belcher also addressed a letter to Mr. Evans, the Lord Chamberlain's secretary, in which was indicated the nature of the obstacle which had arisen:

S^r — Sometime in Decemb^r last I wrote to his Grace the Lord High Chamberlain in favour of the Minister & Vestry of Christ's C^{hh} in this town to pray his [Grace's kind regards to their obtaining the Kings bounty to that c^{hh} in the like manner as has been twice extended to the King's Chappel in this town, and I now presume to remind his Grace of this their request. The people of this c^{hh} have done great service & honour to the C^{hh} of England in gen^l in this country by exerting themselves in building so good & handsome a house, and it will be a great discouragement to those who are well affected to the c^{hh} if they do not finally obtain the royal favour in this respect. M^r Newman who solicits this matter in their behalf tells me some difficulty arises lest the doing it for this c^{hh} shou'd make it a president for other c^{hhs} in this town hereafter. But of this I think there can be no great danger, because the two c^{hhs} in this town will be sufficient for those that attend divine service in the C^{hh} of England for a long time to come. Besides if presidents might always have their force you will find on the books a sett of plate & other furniture sent in the reign of the late Queen Anne for a c^{hh} among the Mohawks (or Five Nations), and as before mention'd the church here called the King's Chappel has twice reëd. the royal bounty. From the little acquaintance I had with M^r Evans at Whitehall, I now take the freedom to ask your friendship to this c^{hh} in facilitating the matter with my Lord Duke that they may obtain a favourable answer to this their reasonable request. M^r Newman will take care to discharge all the office fees, and I shall be glad to return your respect on this head in such a way & manner as you may please to command.²

Three days later, December 4, 1731, in a letter to the Bishop of London, the Governor also refers in some detail to the mooted question of precedent:

¹ Belcher Papers, i. 65-66.

² i. 66-67.

. . . in the mean time (& always) your Lordship may rest assured, not only of justice, but of all the favour & friendship in my power to the C^{hh} of England. And as an instance of it I am now again humbly to thank your Lordship, in behalf of the ministry, wardens, & vestry of Christ's C^{hh} in this town, for the good offices your Lordship has employ'd for obtaining the King's bounty for this c^{hh}. They now again write to my Lord Chamberlain and to your Lordship with their most humble & gratefull acknowledgments, and pray the continuance of your Lordship's kind regards to them, which I also do, and that you wou'd please to recollect what I wrote your Lordships on this head in Dec^r last, and was so full as will hardly allow of any addition, unless to obviate the difficulty my Lord Chamberlain suggests of the matter's being made precedential, of which I apprehend there is no danger from any prospect of another c^{hh} being built in this town for a long time to come, besides there was plate, books, & furniture sent p the late Queen Anne for a c^{hh} intended to be among the Mohawks (or Five Nations); and with great submission why may not this be pleaded, that all other c^{hhs} shou'd have the same favour from the Crown; and in the reign of the late glorious K. W. the c^{hh} in this town rec'd plate & all other furniture, and a duplicate of all the last year, that methinks it seems hard that this infant c^{hh} shou'd not enjoy the royal smile, which I will still hope for from your Lordship's benign & powerfull interposition. But let the success be now what it will, I promise not to give your Lordship (or myself) any further trouble in an affair in which I have no other interest than as I think it wou'd be a service to the C^{hh} of England (in this country) in general, and to this new c^{hh} in particular.¹

And finally a letter from Belcher to Newman, also under date of December 4, reveals the fact that the Governor himself had been the inspiring cause of the vestry meeting of November 23d:

The minister & vestry of Christ's C^{hh} send you their humble service & most hearty thanks for your kind and diligent solicitations in the affair of the King's bounty, and I have put them upon writing to my Lord Chamberlain & the Bishop of London, which you have herewith, with mine & one I have wrote to M^r Evans (whom I knew at Whitehall). All these letters you are to open, read, & handsomely reseal & deliver. You have M^r Harris's order for money to defrey the charge, and I wish you success; & if otherwise I shall not give you or myself any further trouble in an affair in which I have no other interest than the

¹ Belcher Papers, i. 73-74.

welfare & prosperity of the C^h of England. I am truly, S^r, Your most faithfull humble servant, J. B. If you obtain let them all come under my care to be deliver'd.¹

The Church's supplementary letters of November, 1731, reinforced by the Governor's personal appeals, produced the desired result, and "At a Vestry Meeting held at M^r Patten's y^e 26th December 1732" it was "Voted That a letter Shall be *writt* to Cap^t Rob^t Harris to take into possession the Plate &c. for the Communion of Christ's Church In Boston the Rev^d D^r T. Cutler Rector. And y^t thanks may be return'd to M^r Sandford,² & those Gentⁿ that were the Church's friend concerning that affair."

Several months later, under date of May 3, 1733, a Treasury warrant was issued for the execution of a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain to the Duke of Montagu, Master of the Great Wardrobe, "for the delivery to the Bishop of London of Bibles, Prayer Books, and chapel furniture, detailed, as a gift from his Majesty to Christ Church, at Boston, New England, to the value of £106 and also of Communion plate for same, to the value of £80."³

Without further undue delay, the necessary formalities having been complied with, the King's gift was forwarded to Boston, arriving early in September, as is shown by the Vestry Records. "At a Vestry Meeting Held at M^r Patten's y^e 10th September 1733," the Rector, Wardens, and five Vestrymen being present, it was recorded that —

Having Received the Bounty of Our Most Gracious Sovereign King George the 2^d In Sending things for y^e Ornament & Use of our Church & Altar and the Charge of twenty-six pounds 16/10 Sterling arising thereby. It is now Voted That the above Charge be defrayed in the following manner Viz^t. That a bill of Exchange of Twelve pounds 16/10^d Sterling be provided for the Discharge of M^r Henry Newman's Acco^t & that to be delivered to M^r Andrew Belcher.⁴ Voted That y^e Sum of Fourteen pounds Sterling which Capⁿ Rob^t Harris has paid in part of M^r H^y Newman's Acco^t be paid to his Satisfaction. Voted That

¹ Belcher Papers, i. 75.

² Thomas Sandford, merchant in London and agent of the congregation of King's Chapel (Annals of King's Chapel, i. 352, 381-382).

³ Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers, 1731-1734, p. 379.

⁴ Andrew Belcher (H. C. 1724), oldest son of Governor Belcher, and a Boston merchant.

the above Charges with the Freight be paid out of the Church Stock by the Church Wardens.

At a vestry meeting held September 17, 1733, the Church Wardens and five Vestrymen being present, it was —

Voted That a Copy of the following Receipt be Delivered by the Church Wardens to M^r And^w Belcher Viz^t. We the Church Wardens of Christ Church at Boston In New England (whereof the Rev^d D^r Tim^o Cutler is Rector) Have this Day 8th Sep^r 1733 Receiv'd the Royal Present of His Most Excellent Majesty King George y^e 2^d Our most Gracious Sovereign, From on board the New Cambridge Galley John Crocker Commander by the hands of M^r Andrew Belcher Consisting of the following plate & Furniture Viz^t.

2 Silver Flagons	1 Royal Bible	} bound in Turkey leather Strung w th blue garter ribon & trim'd w th gold fringe
1 Chalice	2 Com. pray ^r books	
1 Patten		
1 Receiver		
12 Com. pray ^r books fol. bound in Calf gilt filleted ¹ and Strung w th blue ribon.		
2 Cusheons for the Read ^s Desk		
1 Large Cusheon & Cloth for y ^e Pulpitt		
1 Carpett ² & Altar piece		
20 Yds. Damask Cloth for y ^e Communion Table		
2 Large Surplices of fine holland.		

All the above particulars we do hereby most gratefully acknowledge to have Receiv^d the Day above men^coned As Witness our hands at Boston afores^d the 17th day of September An. Dni. 1733

WILLM PRICE }
JOHN HOOTTEN } Church Wardens.

Voted That y^e Eldest Church Warden for y^e Time being Do keep into his Custody all the plate belonging to y^e Church; And at the goeing out of his Office To Deliver the Said Plate, Moneys and other Utencills belonging to the Church, to his Successor.

¹ Filleted, "marked or decorated with a file^t." Fillet, "a plain line impressed on the cover of a book" (Oxford English Dictionary).

² Employed in the now obsolete sense of a covering for the Altar. The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical agreed upon by Bishops and Clergy in their Synod (1603) provide that the Communion Table shall be "covered in time of Divine Service with a Carpet of Silk or other decent Stuff, thought meet by the Ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the Ministration, as becometh that Table, and so stand, saving when the holy Communion is to be administered."

Voted That the Royal Bible be for the Reading Desk: and that the Rev^d Doc^r Cutler have the Choice of four Common prayer Books the One for y^e Reading-Desk and the three others for the Communion Table.

Voted That Two Common prayer Books be Reserved for the Governor and Lieut^t Governor. And the Rest remaining undisposed off (the two following Books excepted) be reserved for y^e Use of the Church. Voted That Two Common prayer Books be placed & fixt in the Church Warden's pew to be Used by them for the Time being.

Voted That the two Cusheons for the Reading desk and that for the pulpit with the Cloth be placed therein, And the Carpett & Altar piece be placed at the Discretion of the present Church Wardens.

Voted That the 20 Yards Damask Cloth remain intire, as now is, Untill further Order.

Voted That the Two Old Cusheons be putt to Use in the Pew N^o 30 Whenever the Governor or Lieut^t Gov^r is or are present; and that the Church Wardens order the place to be made convenient for y^e same.

By Order of Y^e Vestry

F. BETEILHE C^l.

Having made this formal disposition of the various articles received the officers of the church next proceeded to make the proper acknowledgments. On the day following the vestry meeting of September 17, Governor Belcher wrote to his son, Jonathan Junior, then in England, that "D^r Cutler has rec^d the Royal Bounty for Christ's C^{hh}, and has been with me with his Church Wardens (in behalf of the whole C^{hh}) to thank the Gov^r for his fav^r & friendship in procuring for them so valuable a gift."¹ Then the following entry appears in the Vestry Records: "At a Vestry-Meeting held at M^r Patten's the 1^o Octob. 1733 [the Rector, Wardens, and five Vestrymen being present]; Voted That the Address to His most Excell^t Majesty and the Severall letters Recorded in y^e Letter book F^s 21 to 24 be Signed by the Rev^d Doc^r, the Church Wardens & Vestry, and Sent to England with all Convenient Speed."

Finally the Governor, also, expressed his thanks in a letter to Henry Newman under date of October 6: "Cap^t Alden & Shepherdson have brought me your obliging favours of 5 May & 4 Aug^t last, and I give you a great many thanks for your solicitations in behalf of Christ's C^{hh}, which have at last found the desir'd success, and I

¹ Belcher Papers, i. 371.

tell the Doct^r & his Church Wardens that this bounty is the pure produce of your indefatigable application. The plate & other furniture is noble & handsome & very acceptable." ¹

The question naturally arises why Governor Belcher was so interested in securing this gift for Christ Church that he exerted a personal pressure in various influential quarters to obtain it. This is easily asked but not so easily answered. Although the Governor and the Rector had been undergraduates in Harvard College at about the same time, the former being in the Class of 1699 and the latter in 1701, there is nothing to indicate any particular intimacy between them. In fact Belcher the Congregationalist would hardly have been in sympathy with Cutler, the ex-Rector of Yale College, whose defection from Congregationalism to Episcopacy in 1722 had stirred ecclesiastical New England so deeply.

A possible solution, however, may be found in the correspondence of Belcher with the Bishop of London. In his letter of July 24, 1731, a portion of which has already been quoted, he asked the Bishop's indulgence for a complaint which he wished to make against the Rev. Roger Price, then Rector of King's Chapel and the Bishop's Commissary for New England. It will be noticed that this letter was written some months after the original application of the vestry of Christ Church, but only a few months before Belcher incited them to press the matter again and assisted them by personal letters in their favor. He informed the Bishop that, in accordance with an immemorial custom, he had proclaimed a day of fasting and prayer and had appointed March 25th for its observance. Whereupon the Commissary and Mr. Harwood (the King's Lecturer) of King's Chapel together with Dr. Cutler of Christ Church had waited upon the Governor and informed him that March 25 was Lady Day and a Festival of the Church of England.² In reply the Governor said that neither he nor any member of the Council had even thought of it, and added that he had been "born and bred a Dissenter" and was almost an entire stranger to the Church of England, yet, had he known it, he would have appointed some other day. But, to quote his own words:

¹ Belcher Papers, i. 389-390.

² Lady Day, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary; also, under Old Style, the first day of the new year.

Notwithstanding my mild & handsome treatment of the Clergy, the Commissary was so rude as to tell me he believed it was done purposely to affront the Church, & that in the appointment of such days he ought to be consulted. This I look upon as a great piece of Insolence on the King's Gov^r, and had it not been in regard to Dr Cutler & Mr Harwood, who behaved themselves consistent with their character, I should have treated Mr Price very roughly. Since this affair happened I neither have nor will go into the Church if I am apprized of his being in the Desk, nor suffer any of my family.¹

After paying a further tribute to the good qualities of Dr. Cutler and Mr. Harwood, the Governor wrote that he understood that Mr. Price talked of returning soon to England and concluded by saying that "I believe your Lordship can't do a greater service to the Church in these parts than to prevent his coming hither again."²

In a letter of December 4, 1731, to the Bishop, Belcher wrote: "Your Lordship very justly observes Mr Price's fault with respect to the Fast I wrote to your Lordship I had appointed. He is a young man, & I hope may grow wiser as he grows older, & when he does his duty & asks my pardon he shall find me the gent^m & the Christian."³ On the following Christmas Day Belcher evidently attended Christ Church instead of King's Chapel, for the Belcher Papers record a letter of December 24th to Lieutenant-Governor Tailer inviting him to go with Colonel Byfield and the Governor to Dr. Cutler's Church the next day and to dine with the Governor.⁴

In May, 1734, Mr. Price actually went so far as to embark for England but changed his mind, went on shore again, and resumed his position at King's Chapel after an adjustment of his differences with the congregation. The Bishop of London had written Belcher, however, asking his opinion as to the appointment of another Commissary. In his reply under date of December 9th, 1734, Belcher wrote: "For the reasons I wrote your Lordship some years ago I have no acquaintance with Mr Price, nor do I desire any till I find he has more manners and comes and practises his duty to the King's Gov^r. But when I attend the C^{hh} of England it is commonly at Christ's C^{hh}, whereof Dr Cutler is minister."⁵ He continued by

¹ Perry, Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church, iii. 270.

² iii. 271.

³ Belcher Papers, i. 72.

⁴ i. 460.

⁵ ii. 175.

saying that he had made prudent inquiries but could not learn that Mr. Price had any intention at present of returning to England. But since the Bishop had asked his thoughts in the matter he recommended Dr. Cutler as the best qualified person he could think of to serve as Commissary when a vacancy might occur. One comment which Belcher made seems worth reproducing in his own words as an indication of the reaction of sturdy New England Protestantism on Anglican principles and practices: "Yet your L^dship will allow me to say that if the Doct^r was more moderate in some hierarchycal principles he wou'd be better able to serve and increase the Church in this country, for the people here who have been originally planted and bro't up in another way may be drawn but will not be driven."¹ He added also that what was commonly called the King's Chapel was not so in reality since the minister was chosen by the congregation and not presented by the King. Therefore it was not necessary that the Commissary should be the Rector of King's Chapel, although it was desirable that he should be a minister of one of the churches in Boston, the capital of the Province. Accordingly he again commended Dr. Cutler to the Bishop "as a gent^m of figure and good prudence, and one whom I have good reason to beleive wou'd be to the good liking & satisfaction of the clergy over whom he is to preside."²

It would, therefore, seem a reasonable inference that the Governor's activity in procuring the King's gift for Christ Church was not so much inspired by interest in the church itself as by antagonism to the Commissary, and perhaps also to have the church, which he honored by his official presence when occasion arose, dignified by the Royal favor.

Pew No. 30 was obviously set apart as the "Governor's Pew" by the action of the vestry on September 17, 1733, as shown above. It is the front pew on the right-hand side of the centre aisle, and differs, with two exceptions, from other pews in the body of the church, which are as a rule approximately square, by being a long narrow pew extending from the centre to the side aisle. The last two pews in the church on either side of the centre aisle, Nos. 39 and 21, marked respectively "The Wardens" and "For strangers and

¹ Belcher Papers, ii. 175.

² ii. 176.

wardens," are also long and narrow and extend from the centre to the side aisle.

From the time of this vote of the vestry until after the Revolution it was carried in the Church's account books as the Governor's Pew. In the second Account Book (1759-1823) there is an entry in the handwriting of James Sherman, Church Warden, to the effect "That the above Pew N^o 30 was from the first Settlement of Christ Church in Boston devoted wholly to the use of His Excelence the Governor and other Gentlemen and so continued untill August 1791." This fact apparently escaped the vigilant eye of the Rev. Mr. Foote, who wrote: "The 'Governor's pew' remained a unique property of the King's Chapel. The nearest approach to it in the other Episcopal Church was an acknowledgment of the gift of a cargo of logwood from Honduras."¹ This reference is to the construction in 1727 of the "Bay Pew," No. 46, "For the use of the Gentlemen of y^e Bay of Handoras who have been or shall be Benefactors to this Church."² Mr. Foote added that "There was a Governors pew, however, in the First and South meeting-houses."³

Turning now to the first Account Book (1722-1759) of the Church we find the invoice entered in full. The various articles received are described with more particulars than in the Vestry Records, and the expense account is given in detail.

London 13th July 1733.

Invoice of His Majesty's Royal Present of Plate and other Furniture for the Communion Table Pulpit and Reading Desk of Christ Church at Boston in New England shipt by Henry Newman on the New Cambridge Galley Cap^t John Crocker Commander in One Chest Markt

A. B. for C. C. and number'd as in the Margent and Consigned to M^r Andrew Belcher Merch^t at Boston to be deliver^d to the Rever^d D^r Cutler Rect^r and the Church Wardens of the said Church.

¹ Annals of King's Chapel, i. 377 note.

² Vestry Records, June 9, 1727.

³ Trinity Church, Boston, also set apart a pew for the use of the Governor, after the receipt, in 1742, of a gift of Communion plate, Bible and Prayer Books from the King through Governor Shirley. At a vestry meeting held August 27, 1742, it was voted: "that a pew be fitted up for his Excel^{cy}'s accomodation when he pleases to come to this Church, that the two pews N^o 69 & N^o 70 be made into square pews one for to accomodate his Excel^{cy} the other for the Wardens" (Addison, Life and Times of Edward Bass, p. 111).

From the Jewel Office { 2 Silver Flagons } W^t 187 ounces pack'd up in a Calf's leather Trunk
 { 1 Chalice } lined with green bayes.
 { 1 Patten }
 { 1 Receiver }

His Majesty's Great Wardrobe { 1 Royal Bible } Bound in Turkey leather Strung with blue
 { 2 Com: Pra: Books } garter Ribbons and trim'd with gold fringe.
 { 12 Com: Pray. books fol. } bound in Calf Gilt & fillited & Strung wth blue ribbons.
 { 2 Cushings for the Reading Desk } All Crimson Genoa Damask
 { 1 large Cushion & Cloth for y^e Pulpit } trim^d with Crimson ingrain
 { 1 Carpet & Altar piece } Silk, twist^d & knotted fringe
 & 4 tawcells Suitable to y^e Cusheons.
 20 Yards of Damask Cloth for the Communion Table
 2 large Surplices of fine Holland
 Ship'd

E. J. R.

p HENRY NEWMAN

M. D. L. G.

Charges Due to M^r Henry Newman for obtaining and Shipping the above Plate & Furniture Viz^t.

From Feb. 12 th 1730/1 to Aprill 27 th 1733	For Sundry Coach hire &c as p Acco ^t	£6: 9:6-
	Paid M ^r Evans, his G. the D. of Grafton's Secre ^y	4:8:6
	A Gratuity to M ^r Griffith	
	M ^r Evans's Cl.	5:0
	Ditto . . . to y ^e Door keeper	2:6
		<hr/>
	Coach to y ^e Duke of Montague's Office	2:-
May 13	For Sundry Coach hire &c as p Acco ^t	9:14:0
June 23	Ditto	5: 0:6
	Charges at the Custom-House &c ^a Viz ^t	
	For a Cocket ¹ &c.	7:0
	Searchers	:6
	Wharfage & Porteridge	2:4
	Petitioning the Commissioners	1:-
	Wateridge on board	2:-
	Primage ² and Bills Lading	.14.10
		<hr/>
	Sterl ^s	£26:16:10

¹ Cocket, a "document sealed by the officers of the custom-house, and delivered to merchants as a certificate that their merchandise has been duly entered and has paid duty" (Oxford English Dictionary).

² Primage, "a customary allowance formerly made by the shipper to the master and crew of a vessel for the loading and care of the cargo; also called hat-money" (Oxford English Dictionary).

This Day 8th September 1733. Received the King's Gift of Plate &c for the Use of Christ Church as p particulars hereabove Mention'd.

This entry is followed at intervals in the Account Book by a number of charges, mainly for minor disbursements, incurred on account of the gift.

1733

Sept ^r	8	To D ^o [Cash paid] for Truckidge of y ^e King's Gift from on board the Ship	0. 2:6
	10	To D ^o to Spooner for hooks for y ^e Altar P ^{ce}	2:-
	24	To Ditto to Jn ^o Crocker for freight of the King's Gift	1:10:0
Octob ^r	10	To D ^o to Cap ⁿ Rt. Harris for a bill of Exch ^e for £12:16:4 Ster @ 270 p C ^t	47:10:4

This last payment was apparently made in accordance with the vote of the vestry on September 10 that a bill of exchange of £12.16.10 be provided for the discharge of Mr. Newman's account, although there is a discrepancy of six pence between the two amounts.

On the opposite side of the Account Book the Church is credited with the following items:

1733

Sept ^r	13	by D ^o [Cash] Taken out of the Church box to pay Cap ⁿ Harris on M ^r Newman's Acc ^t	22:13:5
	24	by D ^o [Cash received] of Cap ⁿ Jn ^o Crocker	0:10:-
October	14	" D ^o of Cap ⁿ Crocker	10:-

The first entry probably relates also to the action of the vestry of September 10, and would seem to indicate that a portion of the payment of October 10 to Captain Harris was drawn from a special source instead of from current receipts. The vestry had voted however that such payments should be made from the Church stock. The last two entries represent a rebate from Captain Crocker on the payment to him of £1.10 on September 24. This credit was repeated through error on October 14 and was offset by the debit of April 15, 1734, below.

Turning back to the debit side of the Account Book a number of charges are found for housing and safeguarding the gift:

1733

Novemb ^r	3	To D ^o [Cash Paid]	
		for a box to Carry the plate	2.—.-
		for a lock to D ^o	0. 5.-
		for handles for D ^o	4.-
		for hinges for D ^o	1.11

December 22	To D ^o to M ^r Hillard making the Silver Cup-Cover fitt for the King's Cup	1. 3
1734		
Jan'y	7 To D ^o for alter ^s the Ch: Box & making a new drawer & a box for y ^e Bapt ^l Silv ^r bason	1:10:-
	To D ^o for a p of handles for y ^e box 0.4.0 a drawer lock for D ^o 5:- 2 brass handles for y ^e Drawer 1:10 a Box lock & hinges 3:4	0:14:2
	31 To D ^o For a Box Case with lock hinges and handle to put the Church books In	6:-:-
Aprill	15 To Cap ⁿ Crocker hav ^s twice C ^t for 10. p mistake	10.-
Aprill	22 To d ^o paid Cap ⁿ Rob ^t Harris in full for 14 ^s Sterl. part of the fees for the King's Gift	58:16:0

The payment of April 22 to Captain Harris, which also was authorized at the vestry meeting of September 10, 1733, completes the list of disbursements which followed the receipt of the Royal gift.

One of the articles received, the twenty yards of damask cloth, was not utilized for some time. It will be recalled that the vestry on September 17, 1733, had voted that it should "remain intire, as now is Untill further Order." But eventually, on March 25, 1735, the vestry —

Voted That the p^s damask Cloth contain^s 12 Yds. part of the 20 Yds. in his Majesty's Gift, as appears p Invoice in the Vote dated 17 Septem^r 1733 be imēdiately made up for the Use of the Church. Voted That the remaining Eight Yards of the above mentioned 20 Yds Damask Cloth, be presented to the Rev^d Doc^r T. Cutler, by the Church Wardens, as a free Gift: And in Case he refuses to accept of the Same, Then Said 8 Yds. damask Cloth be immediately made up for the Use of the Church.

From the wording of the vote, a doubt evidently existed in the minds of the vestry as to whether the Rector would consider this a proper method of disposing of the church's property. The suspicion was well founded, for at a meeting on April 3, it was "Reported by the Church Wardens That by Virtue of a Vote dated 25th Ultimo They presented to the Rev^d Doc^r T. Cutler the 8 Yards Damask Cloth therein mentioned; And he refused to accept the Same." The disposition which the vestry finally made of the eight yards is indicated by a charge in the Account Book under date of July 7, 1735, of cash paid "for making 4 Table Cloths 14:-."

And on April 26 of the following year when the newly elected Senior Warden gave a receipt, according to custom, for the church property, based on a complete inventory taken by his predecessor, April 7, 1735, he excepted "the p^s Damask Cloth q^d [quoad] 8 Yds. therein mentioned is now made up in four Table Cloths." This inventory had recorded:

1 p^s Damask Cloth containing 8 Yds.
5 New damask Table Cloths & 2 Old Table Cloths.
6 ditto . . . Napkins. . . . 6 Old Napkins . . .
1 Damask Altar Peice.

Apparently, then, the entire twenty yards was utilized for cloths and napkins for the Communion Table.

The damask Altar piece seems to have been diverted from its natural employment (~~a frontal, or hanging for the front of the Altar~~),¹ and used in a somewhat curious way. An organ was installed in the church in 1736, and on December 10 of that year the vestry "Voted That the Ten Commandments wth Suitable Ornaments, be wrote & painted as soon as possible And That the Crimson Damask Altar peice be Appropriated for Curtains to the Organ-Loft." An altar piece would scarcely seem to have been of sufficient size to furnish curtains for the organ loft of Christ Church, and this was evidently the case. For in a special account of expenses incurred in connection with the organ (recorded under the year 1736), a payment was entered "To Robert Jenkins & Lind^y Wallis for making the Curtins & damask to Compleat them . . . 25:5:10." And on April 16, 1737, the new Senior Warden receipted for the church property "with this further difference, that the Damask Altar piece is made Use off, towards making eight Curtains for the Organ-loft."

The more perishable portion of the King's gift has disappeared in the course of time, but the more substantial, and also more important, part is still in the possession of the church. The Communion plate (two flagons, chalice and paten, receiver or alms basin) is used to-day whenever the Holy Communion is celebrated. All the five pieces were made by Joseph Allen and Mordecai Fox in London. They bear the Royal arms and are inscribed: "The Gift of His

¹ See p. 312, above, where a charge of two shillings for hooks for the Altar piece is recorded under date of September 10, 1733.

Majesty King George II to Christ Church at Boston in New England. At the Request of His Excellency Governor Belcher 1733."¹ It was fortunate for Christ Church that the break between the church and its last pre-Revolutionary Rector, Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., came about on the 18th of April, 1775, for the church silver did not accompany him when he left Boston for Halifax in 1776, as was the fate of some other churches with loyalist rectors.

The Royal Bible and five of the fourteen Prayer Books are also left, and the Bible and one Prayer Book are shown, opened for inspection, in a case in the vestry room. The Bible is a large folio printed by John Baskett at Oxford in 1717,² and is one of the so-called "Vinegar Bibles."³ It is ruled by hand with red ink throughout the book. On the outside of the front cover is the inscription: "His Majesty's Gift, To Christ Church, at Boston New England." The Royal arms, with the letters G. R., are stamped on both the front and back covers. The inscription is impressed on an inlay of leather and, a portion of the inlay having worn away, it can be seen that a lettering of some sort was originally stamped on the cover itself, but there is not enough visible to indicate what was the nature of it. Curiously enough the Royal arms are those of George I instead of George II. This can probably be explained on the supposition that when the Bible was printed in 1717 a number of copies were bound up by Royal order, the "super libros" of George I impressed, and the books deposited in the Great Wardrobe for future distribution as occasion might arise.

The book is in excellent condition but has been rebacked, evidently in accordance with instructions from the vestry which, on September 1, 1746, "Voted That the Large Church Bible of Christ Church Being out of Repare That It be Sent to London To be new Bound as Sone as posable." It was "Sent with Cap^t Fones"⁴ to London, and in the Account Book, under date of April 11, 1748, the charge appears, "To Binding ye Church Bible £2.5. Sterling at 1000 p^r C^t 24.15.-."

¹ This inscription is copied from the chalice. The style of the inscription on the flagons is varied slightly in two words: "Excell^{ney} Govern^r."

² The imprint on the title-page to the New Testament portion is dated 1716.

³ The title at the top of the first column on the page where the major part of the twentieth chapter of St. Luke is printed reads: "The parable of the vinegar," instead of "The parable of the vineyard."

⁴ Account Book.

Each cover has two holes near the outer edge in which, probably, silk ties were originally fastened; or it may be that they will explain the phrase in the invoice, "Strung with blue garter Ribbons."¹

Of the five Prayer Books one is evidently the survivor of the "2. Com: Pra: Books Bound in Turkey leather" as described in the invoice. It bears the same inscription as the Bible, and like it is ruled throughout by hand in red ink. The imprint reads: "London, Printed by the Assigns of His Majesty's Printer, and of Henry Hills, deceased, MDCCXXXI. Price One Pound Five Shillings Unbound." The other four are a part of the "12 Com. Pray. books fol. bound in Calf Gilt & fillited." Of these, two, the most important and most used ones, have evidently been rebound, for they are somewhat cut down and the calf is of the natural color instead of dark blue like the others. Two of them form part of the four books covered by the vote of the vestry of September 17, 1733, which provided, "that the Rev^d Doc^r Cutler have the choice of four Common prayer Books the One for y^e Reading-Desk and the three others for the Communion Table." This fact is established by the presence, on the verso of the frontispiece of each one, of the inscription "For the Use of the Altar A. D. 1733" in the handwriting of the clerk of the vestry, Francis Beteilhe. Another is one of the two books which were reserved at the same time for the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. It has on the verso of the frontispiece the words "For the Use of His Excellency the Governor A. D. 1733" also in Beteilhe's handwriting.²

¹ A copy of the Vinegar Bible recently offered in the catalogue of an English antiquarian bookseller is described as follows: "The Holy Bible, with frontispiece and vignettes by Vander Gucht, ruled in red, 2 vols. roy. folio, Large Paper Copy, specially bound for King George I, in full dark green morocco, broad tooled ornamental borders, back panels containing his monogram, G.R., surmounted by Crown, royal arms stamped in gold on covers, silk ties, with tassels of gold wire (some defective), very fine copy. Oxford, J. Baskett, 1717."

² Francis Beteilhe was chosen clerk of the vestry January 15, 1733, and filled the position for some six years, the latest entry in the Records in his handwriting and over his signature being under date of July 30, 1739. On March 19, 1733, the vestry, "perceiving the irregular Order in keeping Records of our Meetings (as it too plainly appears by the foregoing pages) It is now Voted That all the Subscriptions Books & Papers be deliver^d to Said Fr Beteilhe To make a faithful & Exact Copy of all our Votes and Also make a Sett of Books of Accompts that we and our Successors might for the future transact & manage the Church-Affairs with more Ease, Satisfaction and evident benefit to Christ Church." As a result of this vote all the earliest records of Christ Church, as they appear

The imprint is the same as that of the first book described with the exception of the last line which reads, "Price Eight Shillings Unbound."¹ The first and taller book is evidently simply a large paper copy, for the original text-page and typographical details are the same in all five.

But their chief interest lies in the fact that they are excellent examples of the adaptation of the Church of England Prayer Book to the changed conditions which followed the American Revolution. In looking at the rebound folio copy which is on exhibition, opened at that part of the Morning Service where the prayer for the King has been changed to a prayer for the President of the United States, it is not unnatural to regard it as a manifestation of patriotism. As a matter of fact, however, the changes in all the five books are simply evidences of a conformity to the Liturgy of the American Episcopal Church which made possible a continued use of handsome and legible copies of the Book of Common Prayer hallowed by association and long use.²

In the few Episcopal churches which still had rectors after the

in the first books of Vestry Records, Proprietors' Records, and Account Books, are in Beteilhe's characteristic and legible handwriting. Many, if not all, of the originals from which the transcripts were made are preserved, neatly docketed, among the church's files. Beteilhe was also active in the early days of Free Masonry in Boston. I am indebted to Mr. Melvin M. Johnson, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, for the following account. The Provincial Grand Lodge was founded on July 30, 1733, "receiving on the same evening a petition for the organization of a particular Lodge which original petition is still in our archives. Francis Beteilhe joined the Lodge on July 24, 1734. Just when he became Grand Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge we do not know, but it was prior to June 24, 1737. We know also that in 1736 he was Secretary of the First Lodge in Boston, and we have his original records during his incumbency of that office." He continued as secretary of the Grand Lodge until August 7, 1739, and of the First Lodge until December 26, 1739. Cf. Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts for the years: 1871, p. 288; 1883, pp. 158, 159; 1899, p. 72; also Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xlix, 289.

¹ As a matter of accuracy it should be stated that a slip of paper has been pasted over the major part of the imprint in the volume which is shown in the vestry room, with the obvious intention of covering the Royal arms, which were employed after the manner of a printer's device above the imprint.

² The Rev. Henry Burroughs in his address on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, December 29, 1873, and the Rev. Charles W. Duane in a similar address on the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary, December 29, 1898, refer briefly to the adaptation of the Prayer Books to the American Liturgy.

Declaration of Independence in 1776, difficulties immediately arose as to the use of what were termed the "State Prayers" — that is, those for the King and Royal Family. As clergymen of the Church of England who had taken the "Oath of the Kings Supremacy" the ministers felt constrained to read the State Prayers, but in view of the temper of the times this was manifestly impossible without creating disturbances, or even riots. They were therefore confronted with the dilemma of either abandoning their obligations by omitting the prayers, or else having their churches closed, divine service given up entirely, and their congregations scattered among the patriotic Congregational churches. The Rev. Mr. Parker of Trinity Church, who was for a time the only Episcopal clergyman in Boston, met the issue promptly and laid a statement before the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church on July 18, 1776, to the effect that having been publicly interrupted when reading the prayers for the King on the previous Sunday, and having been threatened with interruptions and insults in the future if the prayers were read, he was apprehensive that some damage would accrue to the proprietors of the church if he continued to carry on the service in the usual manner. The vestry after some debate concluded that it would be necessary either to close the church or to omit part of the Liturgy. Accordingly they voted that Mr. Parker be desired to continue to officiate and requested that he should omit that portion of the service which related to the King, and this vote was concurred in a few days later by the proprietors.¹

Christ Church was without a minister from 1775 until the advent of the Rev. Stephen Lewis in 1778.² At a vestry meeting held March 31, 1779, it was "Voted. That the Reverend M^r Lewis be desired to prepare a proper form of Prayer for the Congress of the United States, for the Several States, and for their Success in the present important Contest to be used daily in the Church. Voted. That the

¹ W. S. Perry, *Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, iii. 101-103.†

² "Since the War two Clergymen have settled in this State, Revd. Mr. Lewis, who was Chaplain in Burgoyne's Regiment of light Dragoons, left that Service and came to this Town in 1778 and settled at Christ's Church; The other, the Revd. Mr. Fisher, who came from Annapolis in Nova Scotia in 1780 and settled in Salem" (Rev. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, to the Rev. William White of Philadelphia, June 21, 1784, *ibid.* iii. 57).

Church Wardens together with D^r Foster be a Committee to wait on the Rev^d M^r Lewis with a Copy of the foregoing vote." The records contain no further reference to this action, nor do the five Prayer Books show any evidence of alterations which can be regarded as the result of this Vote.

After the close of the Revolutionary War a series of conventions was held, either of the Episcopal churches in individual States or those of several States acting in conjunction, all working toward two ends: the establishment of an American Episcopate, and a Liturgy appropriate for Episcopal churches now finally detached from their relationship to the Church of England. The connection of Christ Church with the conventions which were held in Boston is shown by the following extracts from the Proprietors' Record Book (1724-1806):

At a meeting of the Proprietors in this Church Sunday Aug^t 28th 1785 when Divine Service was over in the afternoon being Warned from the Desk The Church Wardens informed the proprietors they had rec^d a Letter from the Rev^d Samuel Parker one of the Committee of the Episcopal Clergy in Convention held at Boston Septem^r 8th 1784 & empowering them to Call a Convention of the Episcopal Churches in this and the Neighboring States at such time & place as they shall judge most necessary and Convenient. Said Committee therefore requested the Wardens of this Church to propose to their Members to Choose one or more of their members to attend a Convention to be held at Boston on Wednesday the 7th Day of Septem^r Next then to deliberate on Some Method for preserving Uniformity in divine Worship & adopting such measures as may tend to the Welfare & Prosperity of the Episcopal Church in the American States. The Proprietors taking the same into Consideration voted to send two Members Viz: Voted that Thomas Ivers Esq^r and James Sherman one of the Wardens be desiered to go as members of Christ Church for the Purposes aforesaid. Recorded by me James Sherman.

Nearly a year later it was reported:

At a meeting of the Proprietors of Christ Church on Thursday Aug^t 24th 1786. The Delegates appointed at a Proprietors meeting held Aug^t 28th 1785 to meet in a Convention to be held at Boston on Wednesday the 7th day of September 1785 then to deliberate on some method for preserving uniformity in divine worship and adopting such measures as may tend to the Welfare & Prosperity of the Episcopal Church in

the American States laid before the Proprietors the Proceedings of the Convention for their approbation. Voted To Except the Alterations and Amendments in the Liturgy by the Convention and to adopt the same as Trinity Church and to begin Sunday Aug^t 27th.¹ Recorded be me

JAMES SHERMAN.

It is possible that some of the alterations, made by hand, which can be seen in the copy of the Prayer Book exhibited in the church, may have followed this vote of the proprietors, but a comparison of the changes which were made with those recommended by the Boston Convention would seem to indicate that the actual revision was at a later period. It can only be definitely stated that while some of the changes could have been made at this time, others could not have been until the autumn of 1789 at the earliest.

At a General Convention held at Philadelphia in September-October, 1785, in which seven States were represented but to which New England sent no delegates, a revision of the Prayer Book was undertaken, resulting in what is known as the "Proposed Book," published in 1786. This book encountered a very general opposition and it remained for the General Convention of October, 1789, at Philadelphia (the first convention sitting with two Houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies) to prepare what was

¹ "These alterations were introduced into the services of Trinity Church by the Rev. Mr. Parker on the first Sunday in August, 1786" (W. McGarvey, *Liturgiae Americanae, or the Book of Common Prayer as used in the United States of America*, 1895, p. xxii). This statement was apparently made on the authority of a letter written January 28, 1788, to Bishop Seabury of Connecticut by the Rev. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church (*Journals of General Conventions*, iii. 365). I am, however, indebted to Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Clerk of Trinity Church, for the information that on July 27, 1786, the vestry voted to adopt the alterations in the Liturgy as proposed by the Boston Convention. On July 30 the Proprietors of Trinity also voted to adopt the alterations and provided that the service should "be performed conformable thereto on the second Sunday in August." Cf. *Annals of King's Chapel*, ii. 309. More than four years later at a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church, November 30, 1790, it was voted that in order that the congregation should have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the new form of Prayer agreed upon by the General Convention at Philadelphia in October, 1789, it should be used in the church on Sundays and Holy-days from December 12, 1790, to January 3, 1791, when the Proprietors were to hold a meeting. At the Proprietors' meeting held on January 16, 1791 (adjourned from January 3), "The Proprietors also expressed their Approbation of the Constitution & form of Prayer framed & revised by the general Convention holden at Philadelphia Octor 1789."

the first Prayer Book "according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." It was declared by the General Convention "to be the Liturgy of this Church," and was ordered to be in use from the first day of October, 1790. As a result of this action of the Convention in October, 1789, the first edition of the American Prayer Book was published in duodecimo form at Philadelphia in September, 1790, by Hall & Sellers.¹

At a meeting of the proprietors of Christ Church held May 18, 1791, two deputies were chosen to attend a Diocesan Convention at Trinity Church on May 24th and they were authorized to accept, on behalf of the church, the Constitution and Form of Prayer as set forth by the General Convention of 1789.² At a subsequent meeting of the proprietors, May 26, 1791, final action was taken by the church as appears in the records: "Whereas the Wardens of this Church have by the Power Delegated to them from the Proprietors of Said Church attended at the Convention holden at Trinity Church 24th day of May 1791 acceded to and adopted the Constitution and Form of Prayer Set forth by the general Convention holden at Philadelphia in October 1789 tis now Voted That the Said Form of Prayer be used in this Church on Whitsunday next."

The Christ Church Prayer Books have a peculiar historical interest inasmuch as they represent four distinct phases, and several periods, of alteration. First, the Prayer Book exhibited in the Church, Folio 1,³ which was evidently the first to undergo alteration, was changed by hand throughout and with no insertion of printed matter. It was brought into general, though not absolute,

¹ The Pennsylvania Gazette for Wednesday, September 8, 1790, contains an advertisement of the Book of Common Prayer as "Just published, and now Selling, at W. and D. Hall's Book-store, in Market-Street." A certificate of the Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania which appears in the advertisement recites, "that on the Seventh Day of August in the Fifteenth Year of the Independence . . . William Hall, of the said District hath deposited in this Office the Title of a Book, the Rights Whereof he claims as Proprietor, in the Words following, to wit: . . ." Then follows the detailed title of the Prayer Book. This advertisement appears again three times each, in September and October, and also on November 3.

² Proprietors' Records (1724-1806).

³ For convenience in description the several Prayer Books (with the exception of the large paper copy) are indicated as Folios 1, 2, 3, and 4, the numbering being based on the probable order of alteration. The large paper copy is called Folio 5.

harmony with the first edition of 1790, so far as three of the principal offices of the Church are concerned, — that is, Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, and Litany. In some respects it corresponds with the Proposed Book of 1786, but it is impossible to say whether this comes about by intent or simply results from the difficulty of making some of the alterations authorized by the 1790 edition, notably additional introductory sentences and two of the Canticles for Evening Prayer.¹ From internal evidence the changes can probably be assigned to the end of 1789 or the early part of 1790.

The verso of the frontispiece has the words "For the Use of the Altar A.D. 1733" written by Francis Beteille.² On the title-page the words "According to the Use of the Church of England" and the Royal arms have been pasted over with slips of paper. The Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and the Tables of Lessons are left untouched. In the Morning Prayer the second form of the Absolution is lacking,³ and one of the Versicles and the last four verses of the Venite are pasted over. In the Te Deum the few variations in wording from the English form are made with a pencil. All the verses of the Benedictus with the exception of the first four; the repetition of the Lord's Prayer; and all but the last of the Versicles which precede the Collects, are pasted over. The Prayer for the King is altered both by pasting and the use of a pen. The words "behold and bless thy servant the President of the United States and all others in authority" are written on the slip which conceals the words "our most gracious sovereign Lord King George," and in general in this prayer the necessary changes are made in ink. The Prayers for the Royal Family are pasted over, and in the Prayer for the Clergy the pen is again employed.⁴

¹ The Bonum est confiteri and Benedic, anima mea, which were neither in the English Prayer Book nor in the Proposed Book, but are in the American Book of 1790 and subsequent editions.

² This inscription is found in Folios 1 and 4. The inscription "For the Use of His Excellency the Governor A.D. 1733" is in Folio 2.

³ Neither the English Book nor the Proposed Book has the second form of the Absolution which appears in all editions of the American Book both in Morning and Evening Prayer.

⁴ It is not unlikely that these changes were made by the Rev. William Montague, Rector of Christ Church 1786-1792. A comparison of the handwriting in the volume with several manuscript sermons written at about this time by Mr. Montague, kindly provided for inspection by his grandson, Mr. Henry W.

The Evening Service is corrected in a similar manner, and the Athanasian Creed, which in the English book follows the Evening Prayer, is abolished by pasting two leaves together. In the Litany the petitions relating to the King, Royal Family, Lords of Council, etc., are pasted over, and the American petition for Christian Rulers and Magistrates written in ink on the first slip of paper. The Communion Service is left untouched notwithstanding its several references to the King. There are no other changes through the book particularly worthy of note, except that the Commination Service and the special services for November 5, January 30, May 29, and June 11 have been removed.¹ The Thirty-Nine Articles and Constitution and Canons are left untouched in their proper place at the end of the volume.

Next, Folio 2 represents the second phase of alteration. This volume has been rebound and rather badly trimmed in the process. On the front cover is an inlay in red leather with the words "Christ's Church Boston 1809." While it is probable that the new covers may be of this period, the alterations within the book are of 1792. A second edition of the first Prayer Book was published in 1791, also in duodecimo form.² In addition to the two complete editions, a reprint in folio and in quarto "of the parts in general use" was issued in 1792.³ This partial folio reprint was obviously intended for insertion in the old English folio Prayer Books which had been

Montague of Boston, shows a marked similarity, although the evidence is not sufficiently clear to warrant a positive conclusion.

¹ The Gun-powder Treason, King Charles the Martyr, King's Restoration, and the accession of George II.

² The Pennsylvania Gazette of Wednesday, December 28, 1791, has the following advertisement of the second edition: "Philadelphia, December 20, 1791. This Day is Published, and now Selling, At W. and D. Hall's Book-store, In Market-Street, No. 51, (Price 4/9 the single Book, 4/2 by the Dozen, 3/9 by the Hundred, bound, or 2/6 in Sheets,) A Neat Edition of the Book of Common Prayer, . . ." The advertisement then continues with the wording of the advertisement of September 8, 1790, including the certificate as to the copyright. It is repeated twice in January, 1792, and in February; once each in March and April, and three times in May. It is possible that it first appeared in the issue of December 21, 1791, but there is no copy of this issue, nor of January 4, 1792, in the files of the American Antiquarian Society.

³ The General Convention of 1789 had instructed the Committee appointed to superintend the printing of the Prayer Book; "besides a full and complete edition of the said book, printed in folio or octavo, or in both, to have an edition published, to contain only the parts in general use and the Collects of the day,

in use in the older churches.¹ It comprised the Table of Lessons, Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings, Communion Service, Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth,² Ten Selections of Psalms, Portions of Psalms for Holy-days to be used in place of the Venite, and a few hymns.³ The reprint is without pagination but has signatures, [A]–I, K–Q, in twos, or thirty-two leaves.

Up to the present time, so far as the writer is aware, the time and place of publication and the names of the publishers have never been ascertained. In his bibliography of the standard editions of the American Book the Rev. Dr. Gibson wrote:⁴

An unique copy of this folio partial edition, — corresponding exactly in the portions given, in typography and spelling, to the duodecimo editions of 1790 and 1791, in its original blue paper cover, and containing sixty-four printed pages — may be seen in the Rector's library of the late Dr. Edson at Lowell, Mass.⁵ A copy also of the quarto partial edition is preserved in the American Antiquarian Library, at Worcester, with references to the Epistles and Gospels" (Journals of General Conventions, i. 112).

¹ The Rev. Dr. Frederick Gibson in his *Bibliographical Sketch of the Standard Editions of the American Prayer Book* (in *Liturgiae Americanae*, p. lxi) mentions folio copies of English Prayer Books, altered, by insertion of printed matter, to conform to the American Liturgy, in St. John's Parish, Baltimore and Harford Counties, Md. (now in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore), St. John's Church, Portsmouth, N. H., Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., and Christ Church, Boston. Both the Maryland Diocesan Library copy (London, 1718) and the Christ Church Cambridge copy (London, 1766) were altered by the insertion of the partial folio of 1792. The Cambridge church also has a folio Prayer Book (Cambridge, England, 1757) in which alterations were made by hand in the Morning and Evening Prayer and Litany, although, curiously enough, the State Prayers were left untouched in the first two services.

² For use "Yearly on the First Thursday in November, or on such other Day as shall be appointed by the Civil Authority."

³ The hymns were six in number; two each for Christmas and Easter Day; one each for Good Friday and Whitsunday.

⁴ *Liturgiae Americanae*, p. lxi.

⁵ Through the courtesy of the Rev. Appleton Grannis, Rector of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, I have been able to examine this copy which is still preserved in the Rectory library. It is a tall copy, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, in perfect condition. On the fly-leaf is written "Maria Parkers 1840" and in a different handwriting "Partial Edition of 1790." "Maria Parkers 1840" is also written on the inside of the back cover. The Rectory library was mainly formed by the late Rev. Dr. Theodore Edson when Rector of St. Anne's Church. Mrs. Edson (Rebecca Parker) and Maria Parker were daughters of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker,

Mass., and this copy was given to that library by the famous early printer Isaiah Thomas, . . . and he affirmed that it had been printed by the old firm of Thomas & Andrews. These partial editions have no title, publisher, or date on them.

As a matter of fact, however, the American Antiquarian Society possesses a fine copy of the partial folio reprint, bound in boards, 9¾ by 16 inches, as well as the partial quarto reprint. The latter, which contains the book-plate of Isaiah Thomas, has written on the fly-leaf: "Morning & Evening Prayer. Printed by Thomas & Andrews," in the handwriting of Isaiah Thomas. The former has on the fly-leaf: "Morning & Evening Service. Printed by Thomas & Andrews;" and at the top of signature [A] "Boston, Printed by Thomas & Andrews, 17 " also in Isaiah Thomas's handwriting.¹ The correspondence, preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, between Ebenezer T. Andrews of Thomas & Andrews, Boston, and Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, seems to indicate that Thomas & Andrews had issued proposals for printing an edition of the Prayer Book but that this project was interfered with by reason of copyright difficulties. Andrews wrote Thomas on February 5, 1792: "I spoke to Dr. Parker [of Trinity Church] about Prayer Book. He says there will be a general Convention in June, at which time the dispute about Copyright will be settled, and he thinks we had better wait until that time. He has as yet only one paper returned, which is from Newburyport and has upwards of 200 on it."² Then a letter from Andrews to Thomas, under date of

Rector of Trinity Church, Boston (later the second Bishop of Massachusetts), and it can be safely assumed that this copy came from Dr. Parker.

¹ These two copies appear to be identical, textually and typographically, except that in the quarto the Table of Lessons is printed horizontally on the pages instead of vertically, and the verso of Q2 has four hymns only instead of six as in the folio. The uncompleted date in the folio copy may be accounted for on the supposition that the notes in the volume were inserted at the time when Thomas presented his library to the Antiquarian Society in 1812, or later, and that his recollection as to the time of publication was not sufficiently exact to warrant his completing the date.

² The reason for Dr. Parker's activities and interest in the printing of the Prayer Book is clearly shown by the following extracts. At a convention in Boston, January 26, 1791, it was "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that it is expedient that there be printed an edition of the alterations in the Service of the Church, contained in the Form of Prayer set forth by the General Convention;" and "Resolved, That the Committee chosen yesterday,

March 18, 1792, shows that a plan of printing the "parts in general use" had been decided on:

I want three bundles of six reams of your bible paper. Have agreed with Dr. Parker to print some extracts from the folio Prayer Book, to complete some folio Prayer Books, belonging to the Church etc. and at the same time shall print some in quarto for sale, as the extracts contain almost all of the Prayer Book which is altered. — these, I doubt not, will sell well, and induce our subscribers for the Prayer Book (of which there are I believe 2 or 3000) to wait until after the Convention meets, when Dr. Parker thinks we had better print an octavo instead of a 12 mo.¹

Finally, an advertisement of Thomas & Andrews which first appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of Wednesday, June 27, 1792, of the partial edition in quarto and "A few sets of the same, in Folio," establishes the exact time of publication.²

be requested to procure the same to be printed, and to forward one copy to each Congregation." A few months later at a Convention held in Boston, May 24, 1791, it was "Resolved, That the Form of Prayer set forth by the General Convention, be adopted and used in this Church." "Resolved, That the Rev. Dr. Bass, Rev. Dr. Parker, and Rev. Mr. Fisher, be a Committee to confer with any Printers on the printing of an edition of the Common Prayer, this day adopted by the Convention; and, in case any Printer shall undertake it, the said Committee is requested to inspect the Press" (*Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Massachusetts, from the Year 1784 to the Year 1828 inclusive, Printed by order of the Convention of 1848*, pp. 29, 32, 33). Dr. Bass was settled at Newburyport, Mr. Fisher at Salem, and it seems probable that the active supervision of the work would have fallen to the lot of Dr. Parker of Boston.

¹ I am indebted to the American Antiquarian Society for permission to print these letters from the Isaiah Thomas Papers in the Society's library; to our associate Dr. Charles L. Nichols of Worcester for his assistance; and to Mrs. Mary R. Reynolds of the Antiquarian Society, whose interest and assiduous research in the files of the Thomas correspondence have resulted in the fact of the publishers and place of imprint being established.

² The advertisement, which also appeared in the *Columbian Centinel* of July 4, 18, and 25, is as follows:

EPISCOPAL PRAYER BOOK.

Just published, in Quarto, on a large type, and to be sold by THOMAS and ANDREWS, FAUST's statue, No. 45, NEWBURY-STREET,

THE Morning and Evening Service, Litany, Occasional Prayers, Communion Service, and selections of Psalms, with the Table of Lessons, and Calendar of the PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, as revised and set forth by the General Con-

The title-page of Folio 2 is unaltered and the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and first leaf of the Kalendar are left in the book, but the succeeding leaves of the Kalendar have been cut out. Then the "parts in general use" are inserted in their proper places throughout the book, the corresponding English portions having been removed. Also the Athanasian Creed and the four special services have been cut out, but not the Communion Service. Aside from the evidence of the height and width of the text-page,¹ quality of the paper and the signatures, this reprint can be easily identified by reason of several typographical peculiarities found only in the first Book.²

There is one marked variation from the 1790 edition which occurs in the Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings where thirteen prayers are lacking in the reprint. This omission is partially offset, however, by leaving in the book the English form of Prayers and Thanksgivings where practically all of the prayers can be found.³

vention of said Church, held at *Philadelphia*, in October, 1789, and now used by the Churches of that denomination in this Commonwealth. *Also,*

A few sets of the same, in Folio, price *Three Shillings and Nine Pence*, by which the old Prayer Book, of that size, may be made to answer to the revised form.

June 27, 1792.

¹ The text-page of the partial folio, 1792, measures roughly $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the text-page of the full folio, 1795, $7\frac{1}{8}$ by $13\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

² That is, the first edition of the Prayer Book, both the issues of 1790 and 1791, as differentiated from the first Standard Prayer-Book of 1793. The peculiarities referred to are in the Apostles Creed where the words "[He descended into Hell]" are italicized and placed between brackets. This was corrected by the General Convention of 1792. Also in the Communion Service in the Prayer of Oblation which has the words "which we now offer unto thee" in small capitals; and in the Invocation in the phrase "thy Word and Holy Spirit" where "word" is spelled without the initial capital. In the 1793 Standard the situation is exactly reversed; the phrase in the Oblation being entirely in lower case, and "word" being spelled generally, though not invariably, with an initial capital. Also in the first petition in the Litany, "O God the Father, in Heaven," the 1790 book has a comma after "Father," while in the 1793 Standard the comma is placed after the word "God." There are also several minor points of difference which are not sufficiently important to be noted in detail.

³ The differences, if any, in eleven of the prayers are slight, the spirit and purport being unchanged. The prayer in the standard American Book "In Time of Great Sickness and Mortality" and the prayer of thanksgiving "For Deliverance from great Sickness and Mortality" are materially different in wording from the corresponding prayers in the English Book. The latter are headed respectively, "In the time of any common Plague or Sickness" and "For De-

In the Table of Lessons for July, signature A2, entered against the fourth day of the month are the words "Civil and Religious Liberty" as in the Proposed Book, but signature A does not correspond with this book. The 1792 partial folio does not include the three forms of Baptismal Services — that is, Public and Private Baptism of Infants, and Baptism of those of Riper Years; and accordingly in Folio 2 the English services are left in the book. As in Folio 1 the Thirty-Nine Articles and Constitution and Canons are found at the end of the volume.

Then in Folio 3 we find the third phase of alteration, probably made in 1795 or at all events soon after that year. In 1793 the first Standard Prayer Book¹ was published in octavo form by Hugh Gaine of New York, and in 1795 the first full folio edition of the American Prayer Book was issued, also by Gaine.² Various por-

liverance from the Plague, or other common Sickness." As the English Book of Common Prayer was established, substantially in its present form, by the Act of Uniformity in 1662 the reason for the specific reference to the Plague is obvious. Why the thirteen prayers should have been omitted in the partial edition cannot be explained.

¹ The terminology employed by the Rev. Dr. Gibson in his *Bibliographical Sketch of the Prayer Book* is followed here. The Book authorized by the General Convention of 1789, and ordered to be in force after October 1, 1790, is referred to as the first edition, including both the 1790 and 1791 issues. The Prayer Book authorized by the General Convention of 1792, and published in 1793, was the first Standard Book, and was so established by the Third Canon passed in the General Convention of 1801. The Book in use at the present time is the seventh Standard and eighth edition of the authorized American Prayer Book.

² Thomas & Andrews published a complete edition of the Prayer Book in 1794. It was advertised in the *Columbian Centinel* of Wednesday, April 23, 1794, as "Just Published, In large 12mo. on a new fair type, price 5s 3 single, and 4s 6 by the dozen." There is a copy of this edition in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, and also of the Thomas & Andrews edition of 1800.

The following chronological list will prove useful:

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| 1785 Sept.-Oct. | Proposed Book prepared by General Convention at Philadelphia. |
| 1786 | Proposed Book published by Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia, 12mo. |
| 1789 | Proposed Book reprinted for J. Debrett, London, 12mo. (The Proposed Book was not generally accepted and apparently was very little used.) |
| 1789 Sept.-Oct. | The English Liturgy revised for the use of the American Church by General Convention at Philadelphia. |
| 1790 Sept. | First edition of the American Prayer Book published by Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia, 12mo. |

tions of this 1795 edition in folio of the Standard Book were inserted in their proper places in Folio 3,¹ following in a general way the method employed in Folio 2 with the 1792 partial folio, and adding substantially the same services. Whether these portions were removed from a completed book or some extra copies of the signatures desired were run off it is impossible to determine. The lack of sequence in the signatures shows, however, that there was no separate partial edition issued as in 1792, where the signatures are consecutive.²

This volume (Folio 3) has some peculiarities of its own. On the title-page the words "According to the Use of the Church of England" are covered over. The Act for Uniformity has been removed, but the English Kalendar and Table of Lessons are left in, and the American Table does not appear. The Occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings agree with the first edition of 1790 and the 1793 Standard Book.³ The American form of the three Baptismal Services which differ only slightly from the English services follows the Commu-

1791 Dec.	Second issue of First Prayer Book published by Hall & Sellers, Philadelphia, 12mo.
1792 June	Reprint of "parts in general use" in folio and quarto by Thomas & Andrews, Boston.
1792. Sept.	Prayer Book revised by General Convention at New York.
1793	First Standard Prayer Book published by Hugh Gaine, New York, 8vo. Also an edition published by Gaine in 12mo.
1794 April	Prayer Book published by Thomas & Andrews, Boston, 12mo. Also a few copies advertised in 8vo.
1794	Another edition of Prayer Book published by Hugh Gaine, New York, 12mo.
1795	First full folio American Prayer Book published by Hugh Gaine, New York.

¹ Through the courtesy of Mr. Horace G. Wadlin I have been able to examine the copy of the 1795 folio in the collection of the late Josiah H. Benton, which enabled me to verify absolutely these portions inserted in Folio 3 as being part of the 1795 issue.

² Including the same subject matter (the Table of Lessons, Baptismal Services, and Thanksgiving Day Service being excluded) the signatures in Folio 2 are B-I, K-L1, M-Q; in Folio 3, A-D, verso T2-U, X, Gg2-Ii, Kk1.

³ One variation from the Occasional Prayers in the 1790, 1791, and 1792 editions, as well as in the present Standard Book may be noted here. The prayer "For Malefactors after Condemnation" is headed "For a Malefactor after Condemnation" in the 1795 folio, and it is worded throughout in the singular instead of plural form. This seems to be peculiar to the 1795 folio. It is not found in Gaine's 8vo edition of 1793 and 12mo edition of 1794, nor in the Thomas & Andrews 1794 edition.

ion Service.¹ The ten Selections of Psalms and the Portions of Psalms for Holy-Days precede the English Psalter, but the hymns which follow the Portions of Psalms in the partial folio 1792 are not found in the 1795 edition. The book ends with the Service for the Consecration of Bishops, the Thirty-Nine Articles, Constitution and Canons having been cut out.

Finally, Folio 4 and the large-paper copy furnish an interesting variation from the other three folios, since their alterations are made by a curious combination of the partial folio 1792 employed in Folio 2 and the full folio, 1795, used in Folio 3. They may perhaps be most clearly described by considering them in their relation to each other, designating the large-paper copy as Folio 5.

The title-page of Folio 4 has the words "According to the Use of the Church of England" pasted over; the title-page of Folio 5 is unaltered. Folio 4 lacks the Act for Uniformity of Common Prayer, but has the first leaf of the English Kalendar; Folio 5 has the Act but no portion of the Kalendar. Both have the American Table of Lessons from the partial folio 1792, and Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany, and Prayers and Thanksgivings from the 1795 folio. In Folio 4 the Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth precedes the Epistles and Gospels; in Folio 5 it precedes the Morning Prayer. Both the Athanasian Creed and Commination Service have been removed from Folio 4, but the Creed only from Folio 5. Folio 4 has only the Communion Service from the 1795 folio, while Folio 5 has from the same source the Communion Service and the three Baptismal Services, but both have the English Baptismal services left in. Folio 5 alone has one leaf (signature Gg) of the Family Prayers from the 1795 folio.² Folio 4 has the ten Selections of Psalms before the English Psalter, and after it the Portions of Psalms to be used in place of the Venite all from the partial folio of 1792. Folio 5 has before the Psalter the ten Selections and the Portions of Psalms from the 1795 folio, and after the Psalter the Portions of Psalms from the 1792 partial folio.³ Folio 4, like Folio 3, has the Thirty-Nine Articles,

¹ The "Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth" was not inserted in Folio 3, doubtless due to an oversight, as it is found in Folio 4 and Folio 5.

² The Family Prayers in the Benton copy begin on the verso of Ff2 and end on the verso of Gg.

³ There are no textual variations between the ten Selections of Psalms and the

Constitution and Canons cut out; Folio 5, like Folios 1 and 2, has them left untouched.

As to the probable period of alteration, it can only be said that it could not have been prior to 1795, but why in that case portions of the partial folio of 1792 were used in each book cannot be explained. Both volumes show rather less signs of wear than the other three, although in Folio 4 it was found necessary to strengthen the edges of many of the 1795 leaves by pasting on strips of paper. The paper itself seems somewhat lighter than that in Folio 5, but this may simply be an apparent effect produced from more constant use. However, Folio 4 has never had to be rebound and is tooled exactly like Folio 3, although the color of the leather, as it appears now, is lighter.

In conclusion it may be queried why the changes which were made by the insertion of printed matter were confined to certain services. The answer undoubtedly is that in the main the changes were limited to those services of the Church which would be read either at the reading-desk or at the Altar. In the Marriage, Baptismal, and Funeral Services it is obvious that a folio Prayer Book would not be very practical, on account of the places and manner in which they are conducted. Undoubtedly then as now the officiating clergyman would commonly use a small book which could easily be held in the hand. While it is true that two of the Books contain the Baptismal Services in folio, it will be noticed that they are from the full folio of 1795, and that the partial folio of 1792, which was only intended to harmonize the old English Prayer Books with the American Book of Common Prayer, did not contain these services.

Portions of Psalms to be used in place of the Venite as found in the 1792 and 1795 folio editions. They can however easily be distinguished both by the typographical differences and by the signatures; also the six hymns which follow the Portions of Psalms in the 1792 edition do not appear in the 1795 edition.

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